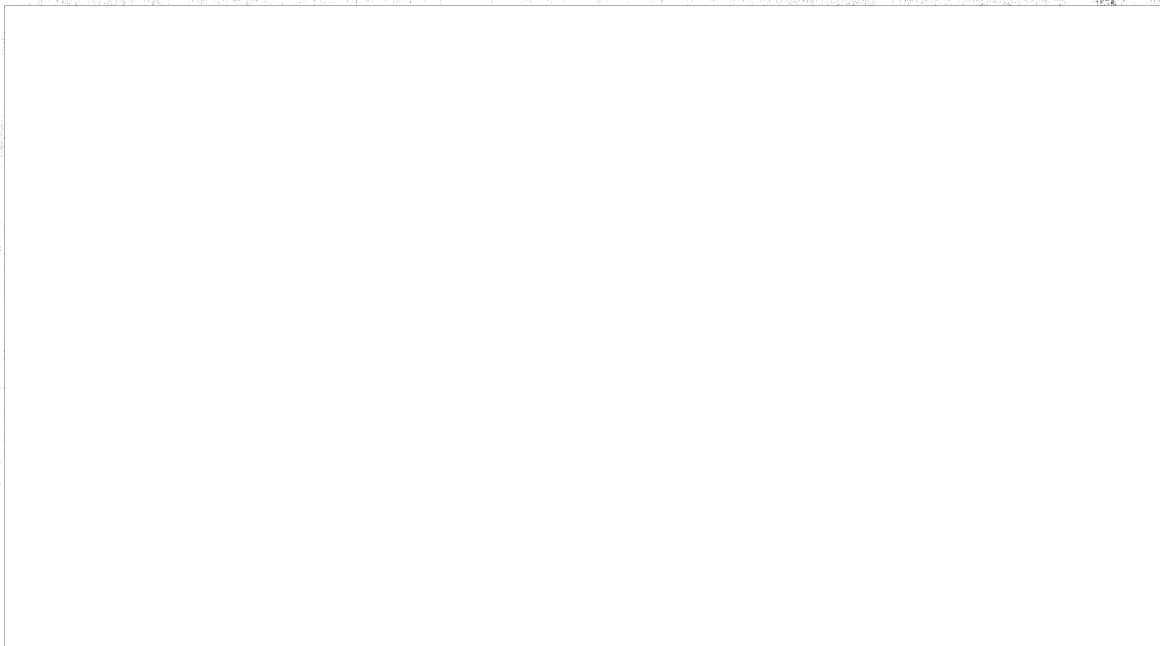


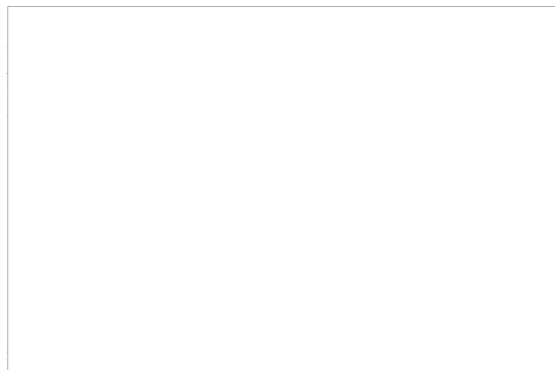
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People's Soviets must be strengthened

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THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S SOVIETS -- A PRIMARY
OBJECTIVE OF THE PARTY

Gero Grozev

The history-making Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party outlined the general trend of the development of our country and guided the working people under the direction of the Party towards the laying of the foundations of the new socialist society. It also pointed out the fundamental objectives of all mass organizations of the working people, including the People's Soviets which play an enormous part in the cause of building socialism.

The principal condition for correct development and achievement of major successes in the work of the People's Soviets is the everyday practice of concrete and skillful party leadership.

In his report to the Third Party Conference, comrade Vulko Chervenkov posed the problem quite definitely: "We must change our local People's Soviets and their governing bodies into effective organs of local governing bodies into effective organs of local government, leading and directing the economic and cultural life of the okrug, the okoliya, the town and village, and duly fulfilling the directives of higher echelons of government as well....

It is the task of the entire Party -- and a vitally important one -- to put the People's Soviets on their feet and get them going, to make them face and help solve the urgent problems by relying on the masses of the people and by bringing them into the government of the country."¹ [1. Third Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party, pp. 112, 116.]

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How does the Plovdiv Okrug Party Organization live up to these resolutions of the Third Party Conference?

In fulfilling the resolutions of the Third Party Conference, the Okrug, Okoliya, town Party committees, and the primary Party organizations decided upon a series of steps, the execution of which throughout the Okrug led to considerable improvement of Party leadership in the work of the People's Soviets.

The Party committees and organizations became more frequently and systematically concerned with the problems of the People's Soviets. All more important steps were carried out by the People's Soviets when concrete Party directives were forthcoming. Comrades, true and devoted to the Party, were sent to work in the People's Soviets and helped carry out the Party line and resolutions.

All this led to a considerable strengthening of the People's Soviets.

In carrying out the resolutions of the Third Party Conference regarding the improvement of work in the People's Soviets, however, serious weaknesses were allowed to exist on the part of Party organizations.

Above all, the resolutions were permitted to be transmitted in a highly formalistic manner by some okoliya and town committees, as well as by a large part of the primary party organizations.

The resolutions and the work of the People's Soviets were considered somewhat more profoundly by the Plovdiv Town Committee and the Pazardzhik Okoliya Committee. Thus, for instance, the Plovdiv Town Committee of the BKP in its 1950 Plenary Session considered

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the state and the work of the Town People's Soviet and gave a serious critique of the communists occupying leading positions in the People's Soviet. The concrete resolutions passed, contributed very much to the strengthening of the People's Soviet and the improvement of its work methods.

Every Party committee or primary Party organization in the Okrug should have concerned itself with one or the other questions relating to the People's Soviet, especially in regard to the fulfillment of the economic and agricultural objectives.

The trouble does not lie alone in this. The main defect in putting Party leadership into practice in the work of the People's Soviets still consists in the inability of both the Okrug and the other committees to properly coordinate their Party-political and Party-organizational work with the solution of the fundamental problems before the People's Soviets.

Until recently, both the Okrug and Okoliya, and town Party committees have been concerned with the necessary problems of the People's Soviets. It used to be a very common phenomenon in the deliberations on one or another economic questions to talk about everything but the Party-political and Party-organizational work that had to be carried out in the accomplishment of the task. Thus, for instance, the Plovdiv Okoliya Committee of the IKP, discussing the question of the grape and apple harvest, entered in its resolutions such steps as the securing of pulp kegs, the acquisition of the needed chemicals, the hiring of the workers required and the like, and at the same time not planning any political steps. The acquisition of kegs, chemicals, and the like is the direct duty of the respective enterprises of the Rayon Cooperative Association of

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the People's Soviets, but not of the Party Committee.

The Okoliya Committee would have proceeded better and more correctly, in these cases had it entered first among its resolutions, measures to clarify to the population why grapes and apples have to be harvested on time with care, why the best fruit has to be delivered on time to the Government, etc..

It is necessary to also include in such a resolution, concrete steps for control over and help in the work of the Party and other organizations directly concerned with the fulfillment of the task.

The economic and agricultural sections of our Party committees are still considered too much like sections of the corresponding People's Soviets. Instead of giving them help in solving all questions from the standpoint of Party principle in their capacity as auxiliary organs of the Party committees, they are changing into appendages and economic organs of the government which do not actively work toward a raised level of Party leadership in the nation's economy. Instead of concentrating their attention on the consideration of fundamental questions of the work in enterprises, institutions, agriculture, on selection and education of cadres, and on strengthening Party control, our economic and agricultural sections often waste too much effort on the solution of unimportant questions of detail which are the direct responsibility of the People's Soviets and other administrative and economic organs.

These serious weaknesses of the efforts toward achievement of Party leadership in the work of the People's Soviets and other governmental and economic organs were the object of very serious attention on the part of the Okrug Party Conference. For some time,

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important experimental work has been carried on to acquire the Bolshevik method of leadership which has the ability to direct fulfillment of all economic, agricultural and other questions through the corresponding governmental and economic organs, by giving them systematic help, constantly strengthening them, without taking their place and interfering with their work.

Thus for instance, during the harvest campaign and the fulfillment of the compulsory government deliveries plan, the Plovdiv Okrug Party Committee completely entrusted the Okrug People's Soviet with the job of getting the machinery ready for harvesting and threshing, for securing needed labor etc., while the Party committee centered its attention mainly upon political and organizational work.

This example of the Okrug Committee was not followed however, by all the okoliya Party committees in the Okrug. For instance, the members of the bureau of the Asenovgrad Okoliya Committee personally took care of the distribution and assembly of the grain threshing machinery.

At the same time, a large number of committees did not know what sort of political work was being carried out in the okoliya, including the villages that are being personally visited by committee representatives. After the Okrug Committee had given a sharp critique and sought out the personal responsibility for the work lag in political enlightenment, the comrades got behind the job and soon overcame it.

This fact shows that the resolution of the Third Party Conference relating to coordination of Party-political and Party-organizational work toward the solution of economic and agricultural

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problems can be carried out successfully only in the presence of strict control over, and concrete help in the work of the Party organizations, and only by continually drawing upon the rich experience of the Bolshevik Party.

The correct leadership of the work of the People's Soviets requires Party committees to desist completely from solving insignificant problems of detail that are the direct responsibility of the Soviets. In regard to leadership in economy, the Party committees and primary Party organizations must center their attention mainly on such basic objectives as the mobilization of the working masses for the fulfillment of the economic plan by active participation in socialist competition and the marshalling and mobilizing of all inner resources and possibilities such as increased productivity of labor, lower production costs, improvement of quality and selection and the achievement of high yields in the fields and from the stock, the dissemination of the experience of outstanding workers etc.

The realization of daily party leadership in the work of the People's Soviets requires a constant, efficient check of the work of the Soviets and their executive committees, sections and services. The trouble is that neither the Okrug nor the okoliya and town committees maintain a systematic check on the way in which the Soviets achieve their objectives and in which the resolutions of the Party are carried out. Often good resolutions are put on the books, but to what extent they are carried out is hard to say. The lack of a systematic check is one of the greatest bottlenecks, it is the Achilles heel of the Party committees and organizations.

Our practice so far and the Soviet experience show that the work of the People's Soviets have to be subject not to random, but

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to systematic daily check-ups and given concrete help in the liquidation of the weaknesses and errors that have been permitted. In accordance with directives of the TsK, the Party committees and the primary Party organizations are obliged to survey once every three months the entire scope of the work of the respective People's Soviets, to check up on the work of the leading communists in them and to plan the necessary steps to overcome the weaknesses that have been permitted.

In such a manner, an end will be made to the attempts of some communists working in the okrug and other People's Soviets who try to avoid Party control, and thus work will undoubtedly improve considerably.

A second important condition for improvement of Party leadership in the work of the People's Soviets is the carrying out of systematic work to educate and qualify selected comrades for work in the Soviets. The courses and seminars set up to date are far from being sufficient. In the Party schools and courses, as is the case in the Soviet Union, more workers will have to come in from the People's Soviets. Our primary objective is to create from the workers in the People's Soviets a new type of civil servant free of bureaucratic attitudes, receptive and responsive to the needs of the working masses, who can be sent, where necessary, as Party comrades self-sacrificingly devoted to the cause of socialism to strengthen the Soviets.

The check-up made so far in the Okrug of the executive committees of the People's Soviets shows that in some places even some accidental and foreign elements have been able to sneak into them.

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Such accidental and foreign elements were uncovered in the okoliya People's Soviets in Karlovo, Smolyan, GMS -- Asenovgrad etc. This obliges us to increase the watchfulness of the People's Soviets, by sending out to work in them some of the best, most faithful and devoted sons and daughters of the people.

Of great importance for the successful work of the People's Soviets is the correct functioning of the primary Party organizations attached to them. So far neither the Okrug, the okoliya nor town Party committees have given much attention to these organizations. Most of these lead an anemic, one may say, tedious life. They have the statutory right to point out failures in the work of the Soviets or any of their services to the respective Party committees or the chairmen of the Soviets, but this right is hardly ever used. There are even some primary Party organizations which try to control the work of the Soviet and its executive committee, although the statute does not allow this. A decisive improvement in the work of the People's Soviets requires a strengthening of the Party, Union and youth organizations attached to the Soviets.

To insure the timely and proper preparation of the questions that have to be brought before the Party committee for solution, the communists working in the executive committee of the Soviet are required, in line with the directive of the Central Committee of the Party, to form a Party group with the communist leader-chairman of the Soviet. This will eliminate the previous harmful practice which, for instance, exists in the work of the communists in the executive committee of the Okrug People's Soviet, of often not going over a series of decisive questions profoundly, and overhastily bringing them for decision before the Party Okrug Committee. On the other

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hand, making correct Party leadership in the People's Soviets a reality requires that the secretaries of the Party committees and organizations selected as deputies of the working people be included in the executive committees of the corresponding People's Soviets. In this manner, a number of questions can be decided directly in the People's Soviet.

In fulfillment of resolutions of the Task regarding a decisive improvement in the work of the People's Soviets, a Plenary Session of the Party Okrug Committee was held on 17 September 1951. At this Plenary Session, both the work of the Party committees and that of the People's Soviets in fulfillment of the resolutions of the Third Party Conference were subject to serious scrutiny.

The main conclusion of the Plenary Session was that in spite of the successes achieved, the completion of putting into practice of the resolutions of the Third Party Conference and the excellent directives of comrade Vulko Cherventov has not yet been insured. This, in the main, also explains the considerable weaknesses still existing in the work of the People's Soviets in the Okrug which are not properly utilizing the many-sided Soviet experiences, are considerably behind in their development and can not correctly and on time solve all the questions before them.

In Plovdiv Okrug, there are 283 elective People's Soviets with 4,250 deputies. During their two years existence carrying out the correct policies of the Party and the People's Government, under the direct leadership of the Okrug Party organization, the Soviets have accomplished considerable work.

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Important successes were achieved in the field of agriculture. The area under cultivation in the Okrug has increased considerably, the industrial and technological acreage alone by 700,000 hectares. So far, 229 TKZS have been founded, covering 45.9 percent of the total area under cultivation of the okrug, or 65 percent of the area under cultivation in the fields where most of the farms are to be found. So far, almost all agricultural objectives have been fulfilled successfully. The fulfillment ahead of time of the plan for compulsory grain deliveries both last year and this constitutes a great success both for the Party organizations and for the People's Soviets in the okrug.

Under the direct leadership of the People's Soviets, local industry is constantly growing and expanding, with a total annual production of about 9 billion leva.

Important successes were achieved in the area of construction, communal economy, health and medical care, national enlightenment, electrification, the building of motion picture houses etc. In Plovdiv Okrug, 535 medical establishments are at work with 3,650 hospital beds. The number of full-time motion picture theaters grew from 31 with 9,287 seats in 1948 to 103 with 35,096 seats in 1951. Libraries increased from 431 with 449,146 volumes of books in 1948 to 1,994 with 776,446 volumes of scientific and artistic literature. The number of settlements with electricity and radio is constantly growing; as is the number of amateur performance groups etc.

Together with this, the People's Soviets carried out a series of communal and welfare measures, such as the improvement of streets, parks, sewers, etc., using mainly voluntary labor from the population.

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It is enough to recall that in such settlements as Prestovitsa in the Plovdiv area, Asenovgrad etc., such constructions were completed within 4-5 years, whereas, formerly they used to take dozens of years.

Together with this, the People's Soviets themselves are being strengthened, their methods of work are being improved, the cadre of active members around them is being increased, and their authority and influence among the working people is being increased.

But together with this, as the Plenary Session of the Okrug Committee pointed out, there continues to exist a number of considerable weaknesses and deficiencies.

As is known, the Soviets, as organs of government power, lead and direct the work in their territories, and their executive committees are directly concerned with management.

According to the People's Soviet Act, regular and extraordinary public meetings of the People's Soviets are convoked to survey and decide the most important problems of the activity of the Soviets, such as scrutiny of the economic plan, the application of the budget, the election of executive permanent and ad-hoc committees etc.

The general directives laid down by the law in this respect are followed by almost all the People's Soviets in the Okrug, but it can definitely be said that in many of them, the sessions do not do their jobs well at all. Cases such as the one in Golyamo Konare, the Belovo Station etc., are not infrequent. There, the executive committee and its chairman, in fact, replace the sessions. There are chairmen who believe that the executive committee's work is the main

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thing, and the sessions have to be convoked only because the law says so, and that they have only to inform the other deputies about the status of some questions. It is not understood that the session, and not the executive committee is the leading organ, that the executive committee and its chairman are responsible for their activity to the session.

In many places the sessions are held in a highly formalistic and routine manner mainly because of poor preparation. Few citizens go to such sessions, there are no lively discussions, hardly any questions are formulated, and when all is said and done some very general dry and formalistic resolutions are passed. In the village of Banya, Karlovo area, the sessions are even held behind closed doors to keep the population from knowing what is being discussed and decided about them. It is evident that nothing useful can come from such a session. An end can be put to such harmful practices in the convocation of the sessions only if the executive committees of the People's Soviets approach their preparation and execution in the most serious manner. This means that the order of business be prepared before hand, that reports, bills and proposed resolutions be prepared, and that the proposed resolutions, after approval by the executive committee of the Soviet, be sent out to the deputies for study. This means in addition that the meeting of the session is to be announced within the time limit provided by law to insure the presence of the largest possible number of working people. The actual meetings of the sessions should be conducted in a factual manner giving all those who so desire a chance to voice their opinions, and permitting expression of opinion by active Party members not only while the deputies are silent, as is often the case at the

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sessions of the GNS in Plovdiv and other places, but at any time. The sessions should vote on concrete, profoundly worked-out resolutions that are in accord with the law and that insure a decisive improvement in the work.

The executive and managing organs of the People's Soviets are their executive committees. The executive committee is charged with the leadership of economic and cultural construction on the basis of the laws and the directives of the higher government organs and the resolutions of the Soviet. Both the executive committee of the People's Soviet and the executive committees of the other Soviets in the Garmy should constantly improve their working methods and ever more successfully handle the tasks before them. The greater number of executive committees work according to quarterly and monthly plans. In the preparation and conduct of the meetings and in the daily routine work, there is considerable improvement. Thus, for instance, for some time serious attempts have been made by the executive committee of the Plovdiv Town People's Soviet to apply the Soviet experience in the over-all work of the Soviet, and in particular to the preparation and conduct of executive committee meetings. All reports on basic and routine problems, as well as proposed resolutions, are presented by the section chiefs to the office of the executive committee at least five days before the meeting. Materials are always given to the chief of the finance section and the legal adviser for study. Then all the reports received are gone over by a commission consisting of the following: the secretary of the GNS, the chief of the finance section, the legal adviser, the chief of the general services section, and the chief of the minutes section; reports that are not properly prepared are returned for a second draft.

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Proposed resolutions are worked out more precisely from the point of view of the budget and the laws. The proposed order of business of the meeting is approved by the chairman of the Soviet. The order of business and the reports on the proposed resolutions are sent out beforehand to all the members of the executive committee. The report and proposals on routine questions are worked out by the secretary of the Soviet and not, as before, by the various section chiefs. This makes it possible for the meetings of the executive committee to be shorter and more expeditious, and for the resolutions to be more profound and concrete.

Not all executive committees, however, work in this manner.

There are still executive committees that are a matter of form write and pass quarterly and monthly plans, but as a matter of fact work haphazardly and without plan. There are even executive committees in some villages that do not even write up a plan. Planning has not yet become a basic principle of the work of all People's Soviets.

Because of the insufficiently careful and profound preparation of the questions for the meetings of the executive committees, often long and cumbersome meetings are conducted, which, when all is said and done, pass general, almost unnecessary resolutions. It is even worse with the check-up on the fulfillment of the resolutions. This exceptionally important work is almost completely neglected by the chairmen, vice-chairmen and secretaries of the executive committees, and is left entirely to the instructors and inspectors. Therefore, often important resolutions are not put into practice and fall through. Thus, for instance, the Okrug Party Committee and the Okrug

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People's So let have been concerned more than once with the question of the development of stock-raising, because the executive committee of the Okrug People's Soviet did not concern itself as it should with the organization and inspection of the work in this direction and instead of achieving an increase in large and small stock a catastrophic decrease has taken place.

After the Third Party Conference, the collective method of work in the People's Soviets has been considerably improved. Rare are the cases in the Okrug, okoliya and town People's Soviets where the chairman is left to decide a more substantial question all by himself. This is, however, far from being the case in many of the village People's Soviets where the chairman often makes independent decisions, over the heads of the executive committee.

It is necessary to underline once more that the principle of collective work in the People's Soviets is one of the most important indicators of their democratism, and of the democratism of all of the People's Democratic Government.

While constantly strengthening the collective nature of the work as a vital condition for the correct development of the People's Soviets, the words of the great Lenin should not for a moment be forgotten, when he says that "in any case, and under all circumstances without exception collegiality should be accompanied by the most precise distribution of responsibilities to each person for an exactly delimited sector of work. Irresponsibility, covered up by references to collegiality, is the greatest danger that threatens all who do not have much experience in the actual work of colleagues..."

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A substantial defect in the work of the executive committees is their infrequent and almost nonexistent concern with problems of health protection, popular enlightenment and communal construction. In the majority of the cases they are concerned with economic and above all agricultural questions. It may definitely be said that even to this day both the Okrug and the Okoliya People's Soviets do not show sufficiently concrete and skillful leadership in our agriculture, and especially in the founding and strengthening of the TKZS.

The reason for the weaknesses and deviations in the founding of some TKZS lies to no small extent also with our People's Soviets. The Okrug People's Soviet is still unable to insure exemplary work in soil arrangement and correct execution of replacements.

To this day, in spite of the crystal clear resolutions of the April Plenary Session of the TsK, many cooperative farms in the Okrug are still not set up in complete conformity with the statutes. The directive of the MS and the TsK of the BKP relating to the organization and remuneration of labor is not being applied as it should be on all farms.

The Central Committee of the Party has set forth in its directive of 23 September 1951 that "now before the Government and Party in its entirety as the most urgent and principal practical task in agriculture, stands the question that has arisen of the organizational and economic, as well as political strengthening of the labor-cooperative agricultural farms, of their transformation into powerful socialist agricultural enterprises with wealthy members."

The fulfillment of this principal task requires above all a

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decisive improvement in the leadership of agriculture and especially of the labor-cooperative agricultural farms by the Party organs and People's Soviets. Healthy mutual relations must be established between the People's Soviets and the management councils of the TKZS. An end must be put to the tales that wherever almost all farms have become cooperative, there is nothing special left to do for the People's Soviets in regard to the TKZS. Nothing of the sort. The People's Soviet must give all-around help to the TKZS: it must supervise the fulfillment of the tasks set forth by the Government in regard to sowing, harvesting, the fulfillment of government deliveries etc.; it must give help in the acceptance of all the agricultural technological measures and the correct organization and leadership of socialist competition etc.

Without in the least neglecting its work with individual farmers, the People's Soviet has the duty to cooperate in full with the all-around growth and blossoming of the labor-cooperative agricultural farms.

More concretely, the People's Soviets must now give the most active help in speedily overcoming and completely eliminating the violations of the exemplary statute for the TKZS, and of the defects in the organization and remuneration for the work of the members; in the strengthening of the leading cadres of the TKZS, the chairmen, accountants, farm directors and brigade leaders; in the widest dissemination and publicity of the great successes of the TKZS as compared to individual farms; in the strengthening of the MTS as an important condition for the proper development of our cooperative movement and the achievement of hitherto unparalleled results.

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All this requires a decisive improvement in the leadership especially of the village People's Soviets, and a decisive break with the previous practice of generalized cliché leadership.

A common occurrence to this day is for the most important leading workers of the Okrug People's Soviet to visit the okoliya Soviets only at the time of one or the other campaign. There is hardly a case where the chairman or some other comrade of the Okrug People's Soviet has gone to one of the okoliya People's Soviets in regard to the village Soviets which are in need of the greatest of help. Particularly poor work in this direction is being done by the Panagyurishte, Plovdiv, Peshtera and other okoliya People's Soviets.

Usually during the conduct of the various campaigns, so-called "plenipotentiaries" are sent out, who, instead of helping the local comrades, teaching and leading them, take up positions in their bureaus and start to give orders on their own. What happens is that when the campaign is over, the plenipotentiary leaves and the Soviet chairman is left to his own devices. Not "plenipotentiaries" but helpers should be sent out to the localities. And the main thing is for them to teach the local leaders to assume leadership and fulfill the tasks incumbent upon them.

To a considerable extent this is also true of the workers in the various sections that do not yet do good work, such as the auxiliary organs of the executive committees that do not work out the tasks before them in time with sufficient perspicacity, and often show intolerable sluggishness and bureaucratism. In some People's Soviets, the sections are entirely dependent on their leaders,

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and in other places the executive committee handles the solution of even the most petty questions of the sections which impedes their independent growth. Therefore it is necessary to bring complete clarity and order into the work of the sections by having their basic questions resolved by the executive committee and the session of the People's Soviet, and the more detailed and routine questions left to the discretion of the section and its leader. In this manner on one hand, the collective nature of the work will be strengthened, and on the other hand, personal responsibility will be increased.

Such are the basic weaknesses in the work of the executive committees of the People's Soviets of Workers' Deputies in Plovdiv Okrug. There is no doubt that these weaknesses could be much less significant and could have been liquidated much sooner had there been bold and ruthless criticism of the work of the People's Soviets and their executive committees. The Plenary Session of the Plovdiv Okrug Party Committee stated that in the executive committee of the Okrug People's Soviet and in the executive committees of a large part of the okoliya, town, and village People's Soviets the necessary atmosphere for sound and ruthless criticism and self-criticism still does not exist. Putrid liberalism and petty bourgeois conceptions of collegiality still have an important place in the ranks of our People's Soviets. Therefore, the Plenary Session of the Okrug Committee, after giving a sharp critique of the leading communists in the People's Soviets, directed them to boldly take up the slogan of the January Plenary Session of the Tsk in the deployment of ruthless criticism and self-criticism of weaknesses and defects, and for them to set a personal example in this respect.

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Our primary obligation is to make the directions of comrade Vulko Chervenkov a living reality when he said at the Third Party Conference that "the task of the Party organizations is to enliven and fertilize the work of management; to give help to the management chairmen in formulating and solving the vital problems of the okrag, the okoliya, and the town or village, to insure the collective method of leadership, a careful scrutiny of the problems, a check on the fulfillment of the resolutions passed."

One of the most distinctive traits of the People's Soviets as local organs of the People's Democratic Government as compared to the local organs of the bourgeois fascist government is the fact that they do not stand above the masses of the people nor stand aloof from them but on the contrary, in their work, are gradually coming closer and even becoming one with them.

Lenin says that "the Soviet Government (and this is equally true of our People's Democratic Government) is strong through the consciousness of the masses. It is strong so long as the masses know everything, because they can judge everything and talk consciously about everything." Therefore, one of the most important tasks of the People's Soviets and their executive committees is to involve in their work an ever broader active cadre of workers. Thus, the people will not only vote but manage.

One of the fundamental means of involving the population in the work of the Soviets are the permanent commissions which, although they are but advisory organs of the Soviets and as such have no leadership functions, still play a very important part in their life.

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The permanent commissions and their chairmen are chosen by the Soviet at one of its first meetings. Different commissions are founded in the various Soviets. The commissions, together with the chairman of the Soviet, attract collaborators from the midst of the working people -- shock workers, innovators, scientists, economic leaders, public figures, people in the arts etc. In this manner, every commission is sure to have an active core which helps carry out the tasks before it.

The permanent commissions work according to a plan which is confirmed by the Soviet. In working out this plan, the commission familiarizes itself with the tasks placed upon the Soviet and the corresponding sections.

One of the most basically important forms of work of the permanent commissions is the check-up. The commission has the right to check up on the work of the corresponding sections, enterprises and services of the Soviet. Any inadequacy in the work is brought by the commission to the attention of the executive committee, and if steps are not taken in time, the commission has the right to bring the matter before the session of the Soviet.

The permanent commissions have the right and duty to consider all questions that are brought before the session and bring but their proposals and, if necessary, bills.

Along with this, the commissions aid the Soviets and their executive committees to explain their resolutions to the population by way of meetings, the press etc.

In Floudiv Okrug, 2,000 permanent commissions have been founded so far, but not all of them are working as they should.

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Relatively better is the work of the permanent commissions of the Plovdiv and Pazardzhik town People's Soviets which have quarterly plans, follow the work of the sections, carry out necessary check-ups and bring proposals before the executive committees and sessions of the Soviets.

Many of the commissions, however, exist only on the books. In a number of places, until recently, the heads of the corresponding sections of the Soviets were chosen chairmen of the permanent commissions. This is completely wrong since this changes the commission from an organ of the Soviet into an organ of the section. The chairmen of the permanent commission must be chosen from among the most experienced and responsible public figures -- the deputies of the working people. The poor condition of the permanent commissions in the Okrug makes it incumbent upon the Party committees and organizations to give concrete aid in improving first of all their personnel and to make their essential tasks clear by giving concrete Party responsibility to the communists working in them. In this respect, the bureau of the Pazardzhik Okoliya Party Committee may be pointed out as an example which has been especially concerned with the state of the work of the permanent commissions of the Okoliya People's Soviet and has passed concrete resolutions to liquidate existing weaknesses and defects.

Only in this manner can we create active and capable permanent commissions to be essential organs of the People's Soviets, linking them to the broad masses of the working people.

In the conduct of the various campaigns, the People's Soviets attract the aid of the broadest active cadre, the core of which is

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formed by the workers' deputies themselves. In addition, the active cadre must be joined by the collaborators of the permanent commissions, people active in community life, economy and science. Experience so far has shown that the active cadre should be convoked regularly not only to give it jobs to do in one or the other campaign, but also for the consideration and preparation of the number of questions connected with government administration, the economy and the building of culture.

It is especially important and necessary in our country to create broad and active cadre groups within the village Soviets by attracting to them both members of the BZNS and honest non-Party people. In the village, the most important questions should go not only before the active cadre but also before general village meetings. We hold quite a few general village meetings mainly to mobilize the population for the conduct of some major campaign. However, hardly any general village meetings for the consideration of such important questions as the economic plan, the budget of the Soviet, measures for the common good etc. are called. It is important in this respect to acquire the experience of the USSR where general village meetings are called regularly on a series of questions of local self-government.

A potent means for the creation of constant liaison of the People's Soviets with the working people are the mass organizations, and more especially, in our country now, the organizations of the Fatherland Front. Where correct mutual relations exist between the Fatherland Front organizations and the People's Soviets, the work indeed has very good results. Thus, for instance, at harvest time

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this year the Pazardzhik Okoliya-Town Committee of the Fatherland Front was assigned the task of giving concrete help to the Okoliya People's Soviet by hiring the necessary number of hands in town andalkan villages. This task was successfully fulfilled. Before that, the Okoliya-Town Committee of the Fatherland Front had organized special meetings at which the population was given in abbreviated form the accounting report of the Town People's Soviet. The same is being done in Plovdiv and some other localities in the okrug. The Fatherland Front organizations do not, however, take such an efficient part everywhere in the execution of the tasks before the People's Soviets, lack of which leads to the weakening and wasting away of some of these organizations.

This obliges us to apply all our strength to the task set before us at the Third Party Conference by comrade Vulko Chervakov:

"Our Party, the okrug and okoliya committees, must help both the People's Soviets and the Fatherland Front organizations to establish everywhere correct mutual relations in their work, to raise their work to a higher level, to strengthen the local Soviets as organs of power and to strengthen the Fatherland Front as the broadest mass organization of the working people." [Third Conference of the Bulgarian Communist Party, p. 116.]

This can be put into practice, as the TsK shows, if the chairmen or secretaries who are deputies of the Fatherland Front are brought into the executive committees of the respective People's Soviets, and the committees of the rank-and-file organizations of the Fatherland Front give their secretaries the responsibility for cooperation with the People's Soviets.

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The organizations of the Fatherland Front must bring into their leading bodies the secretaries of the executive committees of the People's Soviets responsible for the work of the organizational and instructional sections of the executive committees of the People's Soviets.

The directions of comrade Chervonkov should never be forgotten on that "the strength of the local People's Soviets lies in the participation of all of its members in the work of the Soviet, in the participation of the broad masses of the working people in their work, in the ability not only to pose, but to regularly solve vital local questions." [*Ibid.*, p. 113.]

It is completely clear that of all the people brought into the work of the People's Soviets, the most active, most devoted and most self-sacrificing will have to be the workers' deputies themselves. The worker's deputies are representatives of the People, the executors of its wishes, the voice of its interests. The deputy must, as a servant of the people, get to know the work of the Soviet from close by and must participate most actively in its all-around improvement. By personal example, the deputy must inspire the other working people as well.

We have quite a few such workers' deputies, but there are also some who do not deserve the confidence of the people, who do not show the necessary interest in the work of the Soviets, who do not take care of the tasks incumbent upon them.

According to the People's Soviet Act, both Soviets and deputies are expected not only to maintain the closest liaison with the working masses, the voters, not only to seek their cooperation, but

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also to be accountable to them for their work. This, however, happens very seldom in our country and in the majority of places in a very formalistic manner. The experience of the deputies of the Soviet Union who organize regular encounters with their voters, hold talks and panels with them, listen to complaints and proposals and themselves give accounts of their activity is not being utilized. It is sufficient for us to remember the Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR Gorbатов who in two months covered his entire district, held 30 conferences and met 17,000 of his voters. This is how our workers' deputies, too, should work. This means in practice that the deputies should be distributed and attached to their election districts, each given concrete tasks and personal responsibility. In this respect as well, communists must serve as examples, as models.

"Communist members of the Soviets," comrade Dimitrov taught us, "must be exemplary people in the towns and villages as far as the fulfillment of their duties is concerned; they must work tirelessly in their places to put into practice the election platform of the Fatherland Front. It is their duty to serve as an example to all Fatherland Front and non-Party members of the Soviets who are lagging behind."

Special efforts are necessary to activize women deputies and to elevate them boldly to leading positions in the People's Soviets. In this respect as well, comrade Dimitrova's directions can serve as a guide for us when he says that "with their experience in life, with the maternal feelings proper to them, with their responsiveness to the needs and difficulties of the working people, the women members of the People's Soviets can become, and I have no doubt but

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that they will become, among the best and most useful members of the People's Soviets in the towns and villages."

Such a fiercely uncompromising and sharply sensitive attitude towards the weaknesses and disorders should exist in all People's Soviets in order to keep bureaucracy from nesting and squabbling in them. At the same time we must be most sensitive and responsive to the requirements and complaints of the working people. In the future, the shameful situation that existed until recently in the Okrug People's Soviet and in the Pazardzhik, Asenovgrad, Plovdiv, and some other okoliya People's Soviets should no longer be tolerated. Here the complaints of working people were pigeonholed for months, and in the Plovdiv Okoliya People's Soviet 95 complaints were even lost completely.

The complaints of the working people have to be considered as a special kind of social criticism of our work, as signals of poor results of our work and at the same time as an expression of confidence on the part of the working people who set forth their demands and proposals in the hope that they will be decided upon in time and justly.

The People's Soviets and our entire People's Democratic Government flow from the People, they serve the People and depend upon it. Their strength, as well as the strength of the Party, lies in their indelible ties with the working masses. Their work therefore, has to be oriented towards complete coordination in the uninterrupted improvement of material-living and cultural services to the population, the speedier movement of the country on the road to socialism, the preservation of the peaceful and independent existence of our free Fatherland.

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Enormous and extraordinarily important tasks are before the People's Soviets, before all of the People's Democratic Government.

Therefore, it is a primary and vitally important task of our Party committees and organizations to cooperate with all their strength towards the all-around strengthening of the People's Soviets and our entire People's Democratic State.

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